

# CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
1. LAND USE AND THE PIPELINES	1
1.1 Pipeline construction	1
1.2 Pipeline operation/maintenance	2
1.3 In-Rights	3
1.4 Pipeline developments	4
1.5 Land	5
2. GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS DEALING WITH	7
2.1 Local level	7
2.2 YTC level	8
2.3 Federal level	8
3. LAND-RELATED ISSUES	9
3.1 The sites of Foothills' Area Offices	9
3.2 The Whitehorse area	9
3.3 Neighbourhood pressure	12
3.4 The Ibez Pass area	12
3.5 The Carcross Cut-off area	13
3.6 Campgrounds	14
3.7 Settlement policy planning	15
3.8 Indian Land Claims	16
4. THE PLANNING TASK	16
4.1 The task	16
4.2 The task	17

A report to the Northern Pipelines Branch, Indian and Northern Affairs.

J.W. Wilson      January 1979

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## CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
1. LAND USE AND THE PIPELINE	1
1.1 Pipeline construction	1
1.2 Pipeline operation/maintenance	4
1.3 In-Migration	5
1.4 Sporadic developments	6
1.5 Summary	6
2. GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS DEALING WITH LAND	7
2.1 Local level	7
2.2 YTG level	8
2.3 Federal level	8
3. LAND-RELATED ISSUES	9
3.1 The sites of Foothills' Area Offices	9
3.2 The Whitehorse area	9
3.3 Neighbourhood pressures in Whitehorse	12
3.4 The Ibex Pass area	12
3.5 The Carcross Cutoff area	13
3.6 Campgrounds	14
3.7 Settlement policy planning	15
3.8 Indian Land Claims	16
4. THE PLANNING TASK	16
4.1 Its nature	16
4.2 Staffing	17
4.3 Means of coordination and implementation	17
4.4 Specific comments	18
5. CONCLUSIONS	19



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## INTRODUCTION

My assignment was essentially an exploratory one: to look into governmental land use policies and operations in the Yukon in the light of the proposed Alaska Highway Natural Gas Pipeline.

This report reflects the cumulative experience of three separate visits to the South Yukon in 1978, two in winter and one in summer. In the course of these I toured the Whitehorse region by road and by air and visited Carcross, Tagish and Marsh Lakes as well as Haines Junction. During these visits I met people at all three levels of government; visited senior personnel of the Foothills organization, attended a public meeting relating to land management in the Whitehorse North area; and spent an evening with a group of residents of the Cowley Lake area south of Whitehorse. A full list of people and reports consulted is attached as an appendix to this report.

The value of a report such as this presumably lies in its general viewpoint and its objectivity. Its limitations must lie in its heavy reliance on the writings and opinions of others. Thus it is offered mainly as a position paper - a basis for discussion with those who ultimately have to deal with the problems outlined here. If it serves in this way, as a catalyst which provokes new viewpoints and appropriate responses, it will have served its purpose.

### 1. LAND USE AND THE PIPELINE

Although the imposition of the pipeline will obviously have considerable local effects on the natural landscape of the South Yukon, these are not the prime concern of this report. Rather this report will focus on the consequences of the pipeline for human settlement and its implications for government land-oriented programs. These consequences will be examined under four headings: pipeline construction, pipeline operation, in-migration and sporadic developments.

#### 1.1 Pipeline construction:

As regards construction the main elements are the pipeline itself and the compressor stations. For this study the presumably significant fact is that a large part of the work forces for these projects is expected to be imported into the Yukon and to be housed in camps provided by Foothills.



These camps are shown on Foothills Project Summary Map #4 dated October 31 1978 and summarized selectively overleaf.

It is my belief that this manner of accommodating the work forces employed directly on pipeline construction means that they will make no significant demands on land for settlement. I hold this for the following reasons:

- (a) Many of the men will be skilled workmen imported for the job. They will have established homes in "the south" to which they will return as soon as the job is done.
- (b) They will (almost) all stay in the camps provided, because of their comforts, because it will be financially beneficial for them to stay there, and because the unions through which hiring will be done will, for their own reasons, bring pressure on them to do so. Foothills says "Together the camps will house all personnel during construction of the pipeline", and "..... construction workers will be involved in steady shift work and will have little time or opportunity (to disturb wildlife)" (E.I.S. Overview Summary, p. 2-35); and further (p. 2-51) "Foothills ..... will encourage employees to reside in camp accommodations that will be provided ....."

These statements are consistent with the conclusions expressed by Mim Dixon in What happened to Fairbanks? (p. 264): "Apparently professional and other construction workers do not move their families every time they change jobs. While employed, most construction workers want to work the maximum hours in each day to accumulate as much overtime pay as possible. The combination of long working hours, recreation activities in the construction camps ....."

- (c) The duration of the work centred on any one camp will be quite limited (up to 10 months) and will offer little inducement to workmen to put down roots locally by settling and building on the land.

Thus although the major projects may well give rise to social and local environmental problems they seem unlikely to result in settlement problems.

In addition to the mainline projects there will undoubtedly be much other work to be done by resident firms using resident workers - small earth-moving and gravel jobs, clearing and grubbing for example, as well as supply

CONSTRUCTION CAMPS PROPOSED BY FOOTHILLSMainline Construction Camps

Capacity: up to 800 men

Duration: 3 months (winter)

6 months (summer)

- 
- 4 miles south of Beaver Creek
  - 5 miles north of Burwash Landing
  - 6 miles north of Haines Landing
  - 1 mile east of Whitehorse
  - 1 mile west of Teslin
  - 16 miles east of Morley River
  - 13 miles west of Watson Lake

Compressor Construction Camps

Capacity: up to 800 men

Duration: up to 10 months

---

First Stage Camps:

- 3½ miles south of Beaver Creek
- 2 miles south of Destruction Bay
- 5 miles east of Champagne
- 5 miles west of Teslin
- 15 miles east of Morley River

Future Camps:

- 7 miles north of Burwash Landing
- Adjacent to Haines Junction
- 4 miles east of Whitehorse
- 2 miles east of Morley River



and service jobs. These as such seem unlikely to give rise to new work forces with new settlement demands, especially if there is prior under-employment of the local work force or if local workers decide to make hay while the sun shines by working extra hours during the brief duration of the project.

This still leaves open the question of overall in-migration, which is addressed in section 1.3.

#### 1.2 Pipeline operation/maintenance:

For the operation and maintenance of the completed pipeline Foothills intends to establish and maintain Area Offices at Beaver Creek, Haines Junction, Teslin and Watson Lake, each employing some 22 staff (plus an additional 12 at Watson Lake), as well as several operational functions at Whitehorse, employing some 80 staff.

The addition of these families will be significant in the case of Beaver Creek (pop. 120), Haines Junction (pop. 180) and Teslin (pop. 350) but somewhat less so for Watson Lake (pop. 800). This, incidentally, assumes new families in each community, but this need not be so. Some of the new jobs could conceivably be filled by local residents.

The situation in Whitehorse appears complex. In the first place 80 families (some 300 people) would add only about two percent to Whitehorse's population of about 13,000. In the second there is obviously a great deal of unused - or elastic - capacity in the Whitehorse housing market. For example on 6 December 1978 the Yukon News listed about 250 houses for sale in the immediate area of Whitehorse, excluding rental suites and mobile homes. Furthermore it appears that this total was much greater at various times earlier in the year.

It is not clear why this elasticity exists, (e.g. second homes, investment houses or willingness to leave the area if the owner can get the price he wants) but there may be a clue in the fact that almost a third of all single-family homes and a half of all housing units are said to be available for rent. (City of Whitehorse; General Plan 1976; Survey and Analysis, p. 15). But it appears reasonably certain that the existing housing stock could accommodate Foothills' demand for permanent housing without any difficulty whatever.



### 1.3 In-Migration:

The really difficult question relates to the total number of people likely to be attracted to the Yukon by the pipeline project despite the limited number of jobs likely to be available there. The Lysyk Inquiry paid considerable attention to this. It said (p. 55, 56) "..... the pipeline project ..... will draw thousands of people to the Yukon" and (p. 60) "It is plain that a certain degree of in-migration of labour will be necessary to build the proposed pipeline." It then concluded that Foothills probably underestimated in-migration and felt that it merited more study.

Since that time this question has been the subject of intensive study (including computer modelling) by Foothills, who will release a report on it, probably in February 1979. I am told that in this report the range of in-migration calculated from various assumptions varies between 500 and 12,000, which suggests that the question is more a matter of guesstimate than estimate.

One possibly important factor will be the role of Canada Manpower. Last summer the offices of this agency all across the country, having been briefed accordingly, steadfastly advised prospective job seekers that there were no pipeline jobs to be had. This may have had something to do with the relatively small number of job seekers who turned up in Whitehorse last summer. Another factor will probably be the extent to which the contractor adheres to his stated intention of hiring non-Yukoners only at hiring points in Alberta and British Columbia, thus largely diverting speculative work-seekers from Whitehorse.

For our specific purposes the important question is not how many will come but how many will likely make significant demands for settlement on the land. And on this point the very limited duration of construction - about 2 years in total and ten months for any one element - will surely be important.

Under these circumstances and in the face of the long, severe Yukon winter I find it hard to believe that many short-term in-migrants would settle down. I am prepared to believe that many will come, regardless of any attempts to deter them; that the great majority of those who do will try to find accommodation in existing housing; that some will bring in mobile homes despite the long, severe and costly haul involved; and that a relatively small number - which cannot be predicted accurately - will undertake permanent settlement.



If that prognosis is valid then the main impacts will fall not so much on the land planning program as on programs for making the most of the existing housing stock and providing appropriately equipped spaces for the accommodation of mobile homes.

#### 1.4 Sporadic developments:

So far I have dealt strictly with matters arising out of the pipeline. But as the point is to enquire into the adequacy of land planning programs it seems sensible to consider any other development possibilities which would influence these programs. This refers particularly to sporadic actions by both private enterprise and governments which, though quite uncoordinated, might together result in significant additions to settlements in the South Yukon. Chief amongst these might be mining and related developments such as smelters and hydroelectric schemes, which have always come and gone like snow in the Yukon and apparently still do; and further pipelines, which have already been proposed. But there would be others of smaller scope, such as an administrative centre in connection with the opening up of Kluane National Park and the possibility of decentralized operations for the Department of Public Works. Even the least of these possibilities could have a considerable effect if they focussed on any of the smaller communities in the Yukon, while all of them would in one way or another cause ripple effects in Whitehorse.

It may be noted that these and other developments have been discussed by Foothills in some detail, albeit for another purpose, in E.I.S. Overview Summary, p. 2-55 and 2-56.

#### 1.5 Summary:

In summary, pipeline construction seems unlikely to have a great effect on permanent settlement of the Yukon; the ensuing operations and maintenance activities will significantly affect the smaller communities housing Foothills' Area Offices, but are not likely to have any discernible impact on Whitehorse. But beyond the Foothills project there are other possibilities, largely unpredictable in timing and scale, which could considerably influence settlement in the Yukon. Implicit in the latter there would seem to be the equally unpredictable possibility of squatting in the form of mobile homes.

These conclusions are significant. They suggest that there is no point in setting up planning operations of any great scale in anticipation of events



which may never come about or, if they do, are likely to be unpredictable in their timing. Instead the situation requires programs which can do justice to the everyday land planning needs of the Yukon as they exist now, and which will be ready to grapple immediately with pipeline-related problems as and when they occur. "Ready" in this sense means (a) having capable people in place, attuned to the distinctive conditions of the Yukon and so positioned in the structure of government that the plans and policies they devise are likely to be implemented, and (b) having at hand the data basic to informed planning and policy making, particularly data regarding the natural landscape and existing settlements and housing.

With this thought in mind I now propose to look first at government programs dealing with land and then at some land-related issues which need to be addressed.

## 2. GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS DEALING WITH LAND

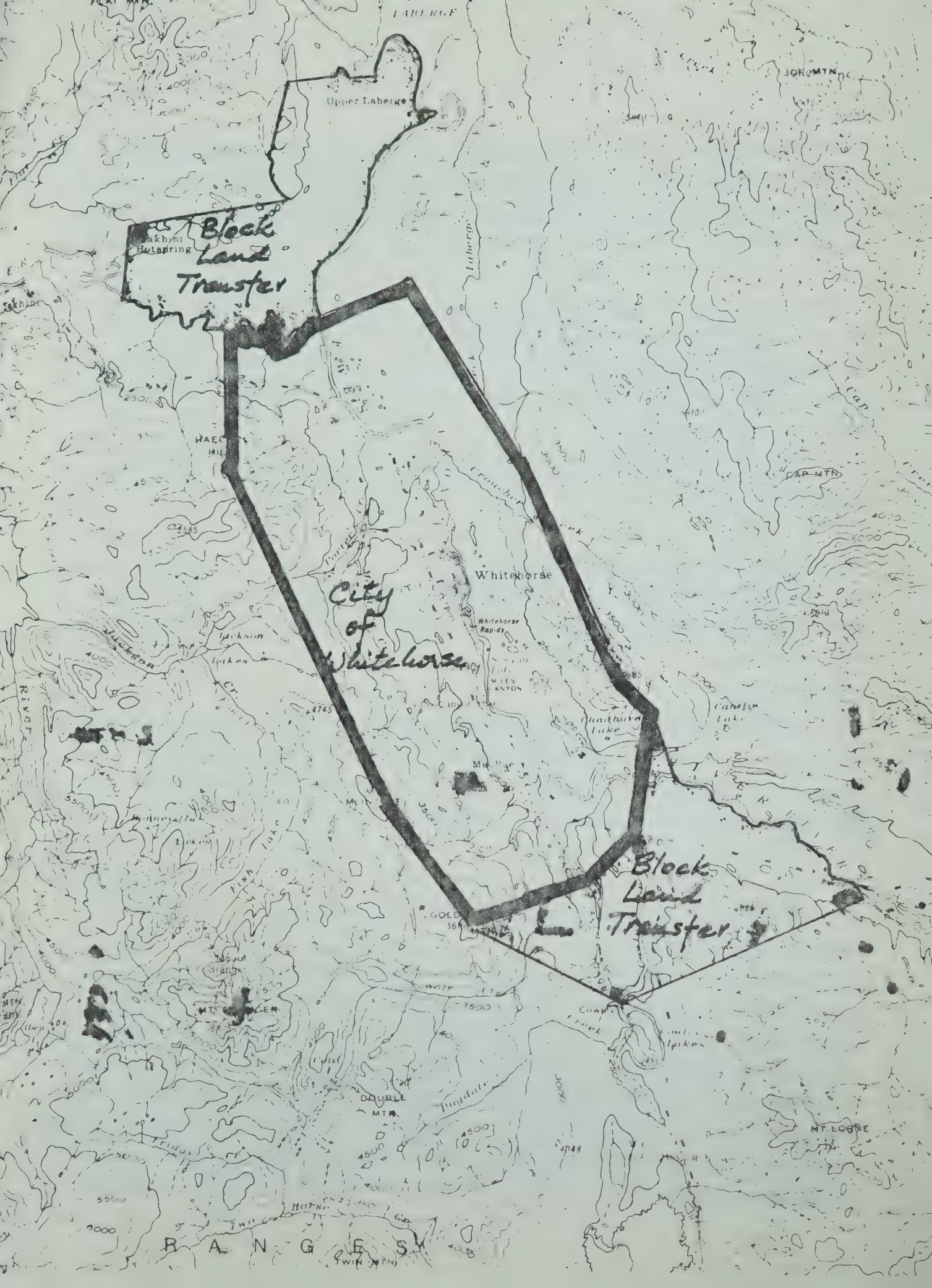
In the Yukon there are three levels of land planning and administration corresponding to the three levels of government - local, Yukon Territorial and Federal.

### 2.1 Local level:

Our main concern under this heading is with the City of Whitehorse, which is notable both for its astounding areal extent (162 square miles and a total length, north to south, of about 22 miles) and the physical complexity of its landscape. (See map following) It is also noteworthy that until only six years ago the administrative jurisdiction of the City coincided substantially with the developed urban area, which is relatively small. Thus the City's land administration responsibilities increased drastically, both in nature and in scale, recently and suddenly.

Four facts about Whitehorse are particularly important:

1) The Hillcrest subdivision planned for the west side of the City will have an ultimate capacity of perhaps 12,000 people, i.e. will be able to accommodate almost a doubling of the City's population. 2) Over the rest of the City's relatively vast area the maximum lot size permitted is 5 acres in planned and developed rural subdivisions, a policy apparently intended to preclude scattered rural settlement on individual parcels within City boundaries. 3) The City has no land planning staff of its own, employing planning consultants as necessary.



Block  
Land  
Transfer

City  
of  
Whitehorse

Block  
Land  
Transfer

RANGE S



4) The Yukon Territorial Government (YTG), which holds most of the unalienated land in the City, acts as the City's land developer, responding to the needs projected yearly by the City.

## 2.2 YTG level:

YTG has several very important land functions to perform, principally because it owns considerable areas of land in Block Land Transfers, i.e. lands transferred by the Government of Canada to the YTG. (See map) This gives rise to several different land planning and development situations. 1) In unorganized communities like those which will house several of Foothills' Area Offices, and also in the Local Improvement Districts (LID's) established in certain areas to undertake local servicing programs such as water supply and sewerage, YTG's Department of Local Government is responsible for the preparation of community plans. 2) In Whitehorse YTG acts as land developer for the City, and arranges for the necessary capital, which in turn is provided by the Federal Government. 3) In the Block Land Transfers, especially those on the outskirts of the City of Whitehorse, it is responsible for selling, leasing and servicing the lands it administers.

It should be noted in passing that in terms of legal control over the use of alienated land in the Yukon, the YTG has zoning jurisdiction directly through the Area Development Ordinance and indirectly through the Municipal Ordinance. But of course it has no jurisdiction over Federally owned lands or Indian Reserves.

Up to this point YTG has employed consultants, usually attached to engineering organizations, for its land planning operations but I am told that one planner and two associated draftsmen will be joining the Department of Local Government in February 1979.

## 2.3 Federal level:

In the Yukon the presence of the Government of Canada, represented by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and many other agencies, is of course pervasive. But inasmuch as DIAND controls all the land in the Territory, other than that which has been alienated to the YTG and to private individuals and firms, the Federal Government has a particularly large and continuing interest in the administration of land.

Until recently the Northern Affairs Program administered the disposition of land in the traditional primitive way, that is by responding on a piece-

meal, ad hoc, basis to requests for land. A couple of years ago, however, it added to its staff a professional planner with a background in rural area planning who is now preparing policy plans for Federal and YTG lands in the vicinity of Whitehorse. It is also noteworthy - and praiseworthy - in the context of my concern, that these plans are based on the assumption that ten percent of the increased population expected in the area will settle outside the City of Whitehorse.

In passing it may be noted that the Federal Government can control the use of lands it leases (but not those it sells) through conditions attached to the lease.

In summary, there are land administration programs at all three levels of government in the Yukon, but these are dominated by the two senior governments. Local government and LID's depend for development land and funding on YTG, which in turn depends on the Federal Government for financing. The latter is also responsible for the administration and development of its own lands.

### 3. LAND-RELATED ISSUES

A recent paper, A Resources Inventory Program for the Yukon Territory, starts "The Management of Crown lands in the Yukon Territory has, in recent years, assumed a high level of complexity as a result of increased demand for land, land use conflicts associated with this increase, and a high level of visibility concerning land use issues in the Territory." Thus it is appropriate now to touch on a number of land-related issues which merit attention.

#### 3.1 The sites of Foothills' Area Offices:

I have pointed out that Foothills' Area Offices will add significantly to the population - and possibly the land service needs - of the communities of Beaver Creek, Haines Junction, Teslin and Watson Lake. It is therefore reassuring that development plans have already been prepared for these places although it has also been suggested that some of them may now require review or updating. Foothills appear to have recognized their responsibilities in this respect, saying "Services such as water, electric power, sewage treatment and solid waste disposal will be provided through cooperation with community and government authorities." (E.I.S. Overview Summary, p. 2-6)

#### 3.2 The Whitehorse area:

Land planning in the Whitehorse area is notable for two weaknesses: 1) the absence of adequate basic data and 2) a land policy vacuum.



3.2.1 Basic data: The absence of adequate basic data applies to three fields - population, housing and lands. Despite the fact that the population of the Whitehorse area seems to be in a constant state of flux (around a strong core of permanent residents), there is still a need to understand - for land planning purposes if for no other - the make-up of the population and the nature and strength of their attachments to Whitehorse. Particularly important would be the nature and permanence of employment - with particular reference, of course, to YTG and the Federal Government - as well as age, length of residence and attitude towards continued residence in the Yukon. In this the characteristics and numbers of one broad group of people seem particularly important to overall planning, namely the truly rural residents. It seems clear that these people, however diverse they may be within themselves, exhibit certain common attitudes towards life-style and land which need to be better understood if land planning policies are to be appropriate to their needs.

As far as housing also is concerned it appears there is no adequate understanding either of the housing stock or of the dynamics of the housing market, in other words who owns or occupies what kinds of housing, with what expectations and motivations to keep, rent or sell.

The third basic inadequacy relates to the landscape itself. The Whitehorse landscape is extremely complex, and human settlement imposes quite specific and severe demands on it - for roads which are traversible, stable and economical; for firm, stable building sites located on soils which may also be required to support both wells and septic tanks; for tree cover to provide privacy; and occasionally, for soil quality which will support crops or animals. Quite specific and detailed knowledge is required to ensure that such demands can be met without longlasting damage to the very fragile Yukon landscape. It appears that in the Whitehorse area such knowledge does not exist on a scale which will support informed and responsible policy-making. It is to be hoped that the resource mapping program which is now under consideration by the Federal Government and YTG will proceed very urgently and will take full cognizance of the needs of detailed land planning at the local level.

Two specific suggestions regarding the above data needs may be helpful. In the first place a housing survey and study could well be done in the coming

summer - if properly planned and directed - with the help of perhaps ten high school students. They could also carry out attitude surveys, on a sample basis, covering residence and housing intentions. In the second, assuming that the planned resource surveys will take some time to organize, it would be worthwhile to have a preliminary terrain analysis done using existing air photographs. If done right away, this would permit the necessary field checks to be done this summer, which would then permit the new photographs to be interpreted authoritatively without further field checks as soon as they became available. I regard both of these steps as very urgent, as informed planning and policymaking are not possible without them.

3.2.2 The land policy vacuum: Quite apart from the inadequacies mentioned above there appears to be a serious land policy vacuum in the Whitehorse area as a whole. I say serious because in the first place the absence of effective policies seems quite apparent to at least some local residents. In the second place the presumably interim, uncoordinated policies which now exist will, if continued, result in an increasingly dispersed rural settlement pattern, and this will impose additional travelling costs on all concerned, both residents and government agencies providing school, fire and ambulance services.

Specifically; the City in effect bans rural settlement; there has been no active land disposal policy for the B.L.T. areas beyond the City's boundaries; and so rural settlers are compelled to seek land further out still. This is not the place to argue that case on one side or another. It is a good place to point out how incoherent and unresponsive the overall land administration program is seen to be from outside government, at least from the point of view of the prospective rural settler. Such a man finds himself trapped in a shell game between three governments whose land policies appear to be highly restrictive, under perpetual study and inextricably intertwined. The average land-seeker's response to such a situation is not hard to imagine, nor is the probability that he will squat, leave or at least make his frustrations widely known. I believe it should be of concern to the governments involved that a local businessman felt moved to present a skit on this very subject at the 6th Northern Resources Conference this summer. The press report of this event is attached.



Mugabe and Nkomo lead a loose al- the order are liable to fines of \$100 a



WEARING DIFFERENT HATS, Yukon businessman Mike Stutter produced his own skit about land in the Yukon at the Sixth Northern Resources Conference yesterday. (Staff Photo)

## SCRIPT FOR LAND

# A land drama that could be true

YUKON STONEWALL

(A Play of Three Parts)

### ACT I (Federal Lands)

Hi. Is this the Federal Lands Section?

Yes, it is. Can I help you?

Yeah, I'm fairly new to the Yukon. I like what I see, enjoy all the open space, want to stay and would like to apply for some land.

Fine. How much land do you want?

Oh I don't know. Three, maybe four acres.

That's too bad. You'll have to see what's available in Whitehorse. The City provides lots up to five acres in size.

Well, I don't want to live in Whitehorse, so how about 10 acres?

That seems like a lot of land for one person. Why do you need all that land?

Well, it would be nice to have some space to enjoy the country, spread my wings; a little privacy, maybe. Be able to pee off the back porch without upsetting the neighbors.

Well, that seems like a big area just to have a pee. Maybe, but what else are you going to do with all this land?

Well, we have to protect the public interest.

I agree! Great! What's the public interest?

That's not been defined. But we are protecting it, you can be sure of that.

All right, I've got a horse, would like to develop a couple of fields for grass, maybe grow some vegetables for myself.

Oh, you want land for agricultural purposes?

Yeah, that sounds more like it.

That's too bad. There's been a moratorium on agricultural land since 1975. So that's out.

How about land for grazing purposes?

Well, for starters you can't build a house on a grazing lease. Furthermore, you need 40 acres per animal — so you're going to have to get rid of ¾ of your horse — be like trying to ride a unicycle. Ever tried one?

O.K. Forget that. I'm an artist and create objects that people desire and I can sell them in town when I feel like it. What I want is a quiet place to contemplate nature and create majestic pieces of artwork.

That's interesting. But if you're really good you'll have people visiting your place and that may lead to strip development along Yukon's highway network.

Christ Almighty! Can I ask you two questions?

Go right ahead.

Can I apply for land here, and who makes the final decision?

Yes, you can. Ottawa.

Ottawa! That seems a long way from the Yukon. However, how long do you think that it might take to get an answer from them?

That's really hard to say. You know what the post office is like. Besides, we may have a new minister next week and who knows what that might mean?

Don't look at me buddy, to answer that question. What other choices do I have?

Well, there's the private market.

The private market? Have you any idea how much they charge? They get the land from you at \$20 an acre, subdivide it and charge \$1,500 an acre. Most of it you can't grow a bloody thing on! Any other suggestions?

Sure. The Territorial Government.

Great! Where do I find them?

That's easy. For administrative convenience both federal lands and YTG lands are located in close proximity. If you just turn around to that other counter, I'm sure they'll be able to help you.

Jeez, thanks for your time and all the help you've given me.

(Aside to Fed. lands): Hey, let's watch how they handle this one.

### ACT II (YTG Lands)

Hi, is this YTG Lands?

Yes it is. Can I help you?

God, I sure hope so. Just talked to those federal types and they are out to lunch.

That's for sure. What do you want?

Just want to live in the country, experience the north, rural living, build my own house. Couple of acres — maybe five — no inspectors or regulations, no services.

The City of Whitehorse has lots up to five acres in size, country residential, that would probably meet your needs.



# Stutter

From Page 1

Don't want to live in the city — too many rules. Came up here to get away from rules.  
Well, we do have land outside Whitehorse that we administer.

Sounds great. Show me a map.

Here you are, sir.

Oh, Takhini Hot Springs Road. Really nice spot. Close to town, quiet, no ice fog, nice view. How about 10 acres here?

Ten acres? Do you really need that much. You're not a developer looking for land to speculate on, are you?

God no. Detest them. Want a place for my horse. grow a few vegetables, commune with nature. That sort of stuff.

Oh. Sort of rural residential-agricultural use?

Yeah.

That's too bad. We require 30 acres per head for animals. You're going to have to get rid of two-thirds of your horse — be like trying to ride a unicycle. Ever tried one? Besides we're waiting for an agricultural policy.

When will that happen?

Who knows, that's up to the Feds.

They say it's up to YTG

They'll say anything.

O.K. Forget the bloody horse. I'll sell him. What about just a house in the country?

Oh, just straight rural living?

Yeah, that's what I want.

Well, we're having a plan prepared for this area and at this time we don't want to jeopardize what may be in that plan by disposing of any lands until it's accepted.

When will that be?

Can't say for sure. It's a joint venture. That is to say it involves both us and the Feds. We've never agreed on anything else before so it could be a long time. Besides this is an election year here, and next year in Ottawa, so we will have to wait "until the universe unfolds."

O.K. What do you suggest?

Leave your application with us, sir, and we'll inform you in two weeks that the answer is no.

Two weeks? That's way faster than the Feds could respond.

Well, we don't use the post office, which saves six months.

## ACT III (Whitehorse General Hospital)

Yes, sir. Can I help you?

I hope so, I would like to see the doctor on duty.

No problem. Come this way.

Yes, sir. What appears to be your problem?

Well, doc, I'll tell you. I went to apply for some land outside the city limits. Went to the Feds. Went to YTG. Spent a lot of time telling them what I wanted.

Not much, just a place in the country, do my thing, not hurt anybody, blah, blah ... Anyhow, seems that this is impossible. For a while I thought I was in an echo chamber but the main problem is that I've now got a helluva case of whiplash. Have you any suggestions?

Have I got any suggestions!!? Last week, me and three doctor friends got an assignment for a federal agricultural lease for \$25 an acre with option to purchase, all covenants completed, just outside Commissioner's land, 25 minutes from town, fantastic view, good source of water, school bus service, highway maintenance, (social worker if needed), no threat from Land Claims. Interested?

Yeah! Yeah!

Well, for an unregistered 99-year lease you can have it for \$2,000 an acre, 10-acre parcel. How does that grab you?

Amazing. Never thought of Yuon Health Insurance as being a real estate development.

A third and very serious implication of the scarcity of settlement land is the level of land prices in the nearer rural areas, which does not seem warranted in a region of so much land and so few people. 1600 to 2000 dollars per acre for completely unserviced land in large acreage parcels 20 miles away from Whitehorse seems unreasonable and likely to turn off serious settlers who could very well be contributing to the life and economy of the Yukon. One may also speculate as to whether the lack of available land at reasonable prices contributes to the squatting problem.

### 3.3 Neighbourhood pressures in Whitehorse:

The experience of other pipeline project centres, notably Fairbanks, makes it clear that Whitehorse will experience irresistible pressure on its housing as people crowd in, seeking shelter wherever and however they can find it. There will be an immense amount of doubling up, squeezing in, renting out, adding on and generally making do with whatever housing exists or can be easily expanded. For many present residents this will be a welcome means of making more money. For others who are more concerned with maintaining the appearance and orderliness of their neighbourhoods it may be most unwelcome, and they will vigorously oppose the degradation of their "territory". This is a question of land use and occupancy policy that must concern the City of Whitehorse. It should be ready to decide where such pressures can be accepted and where they should be resisted, and should be ready to enforce or amend its zoning bylaws as necessary.

### 3.4 The Ibex Pass area:

In E.I.S. Overview Summary, p. 2-41, Foothills note:

"At present, vehicle access to the area is via relatively rough trails. Improvement of existing access points may result from Project activity and a positive long-term benefit could result through the development and utilization of this recreational area by people of Yukon especially those in Whitehorse."

The obverse of this is of course that there may be greater pressures on the land and its resources. One of the implications of this for land use planning is that it is correspondingly more important that a policy of preserving Fish Lake and Jackson Lake for the use of the general public be affirmed and that no more cottage development be allowed there. These policies are suggested in



the draft report Whitehorse North Land Management Planning Project (p. 23) dated April 1978.

### 3.5 The Carcross Cutoff Area:

There is one area near Whitehorse which demands urgent scrutiny by Northern Affairs in the light of Foothills' present routing plans. This is the area around the junction of the Alaska Highway and the Carcross Cutoff Road. It is believed to contain many people who have put down roots in the area and are deeply attached to it; and amongst these in turn may be quite a number of squatters, possibly far more than have been imagined. It was presumably such groups Julie Cruikshank had in mind when she wrote: (p. 18)

In their individual ways they are trying to live out some aspects of a 'northern lifestyle'. They include a diverse group of trappers, wage earners, self-employed business people, young professionals, environmentalists - all people who came to the country and have decided to stay.

Many of them are highly educated and have left professional or job security in the south and have accepted a lower standard of living than they might have enjoyed elsewhere. Some have built cabins in the bush and have carved out a distinctive lifestyle for themselves. Most of them have rejected routine jobs and lifestyles and are making an attempt to respond to the compelling physical constraints of the north by working ways which allow them to get the most out of each season. Their vision is not as collectively developed as the Indian political vision but it is not incompatible. Both stress the need for increased reliance on renewable resources, for decentralization in government, and for emphasis on human values in any development.

These people are emphatically not in the north to make money. The pipeline directly challenges the way of life they have come to regard as valid. Their vision of the northern frontier is that it can be turned into a homeland and their philosophy might be summed up in the words of one woman: "This Territory is a homeland, not a frontier to be exploited. Let's keep it a homeland rather than an industrial supply corridor for the U.S."

This appears to be the only significant settlement area of concern to Foothills towards which that company has so far made no overt move, possibly because the area has not given birth to any broadly representative spokesmen or organization. However, the company acknowledges the problem by listing as

a "land use disadvantage" the comment "close approach to occupied dwellings along Alaska Highway and in MacPherson subdivision" (E.I.S. Overview Summary, p. 2-12, table 5.4-3). This is not the place to argue the vexed questions attached to squatters. But again it is a good place to point out that, squatters apart, there is a very real need to prepare plans and policies for the area - and possibly other similar areas - which will recognize the distinctive needs of a group of people who are squarely in the classic tradition of the North.

It is my understanding that the Northern Affairs planner is currently studying the area, and that is good. It should be pointed out, however, that in addition to matters of route and layout pure policy questions (affecting squatters, for example) will certainly arise. Thus the Northern Affairs planner will need the cooperation and support both of Foothills (in respect of the route) and of his superiors (in respect of general policy).

### 3.6 Campgrounds:

On page 2-42 of E.I.S. Overview Summary Foothills say:

#### "Campground Congestion

Experience on other projects of similar nature in the western provinces and with the Alyeska project indicates that a percentage of the work force will be visited by relatives while at the work site. All forms of accommodation will likely be used by relatives visiting workers but, as with other projects, the low cost of campgrounds and close proximity to work areas may attract a number of the visitors during the summer months. Increased campground use could create some inconvenience for tourists and Yukon recreationists. As a result, steps have been taken, to coordinate Project and Yukon Territorial Government efforts, to alleviate the problem."

On page 2-51 they also say "Foothills will discourage employees from bringing their families to the Yukon and will encourage employees to reside in camp accommodation that will be provided, thus reducing the demand for campground space."

I have not had time to investigate the implications of these statements for land use planning. However since they are likely to have such implications I mention them here as something to be looked into.



### 3.7 Settlement policy planning:

Clearly a start has already been made on land planning at all three levels of government. However at least two of the issues sketched above justify a few comments about the focus and nature of the planning process which is most urgently needed. The need at the moment is for land policy planning, that is, for a rather coarse-grain planning process which attempts to determine what kinds of land use should go where, in the light of a) landscape limitations b) the nature of existing communities c) the apparently large range of options available in the Yukon's very open landscape. Speaking largely of the Whitehorse area and without criticism of any of the parties involved, it is evident that this task is not yet being coherently addressed. First, as I have already said, the inadequate land data base does not support overall land policy planning; second, there is no integrated planning policy for the Whitehorse area, but rather an apparently arbitrary policy for the City, no studied policy for the Block Land Transfer areas, and policies currently being made somewhat in a vacuum by Northern Affairs for the areas beyond.

The kind of process which will remedy this situation will obviously have to be a joint process in view of the separate jurisdictions involved. It will also have to concern itself with more than land characteristics, engineering feasibility and costs, and numbers of bodies to be accommodated. It must pay attention to life-styles, the needs of indigenous activities such as dog-mushing, ~~tr~~apping and scattered Indian families, the implications of land settlement patterns for government services and costs, and land administration policies (including those relating to squatters). In other words it is the process which must precede site layout and the design of engineering services, because its end product will be a number of sites, designated for specific land uses, rationally chosen from a large number of possible sites and accompanied by appropriate land disposition and servicing policies.

In passing, it is self-evident that such plans and policies can only be formulated in the Yukon, where the very compelling realities of place and people impress themselves on planners and policy-makers at every turn. Such land plans and policies will of course have to be consonant with any broader policies that Ottawa may have. But it is worth stressing that land planning and policy formulation for the Yukon must start where they will finish - on the ground of the Yukon.

### 3.8 Indian Land Claims:

It is understood of course, that over all the questions of land planning and policy in the Yukon lies the unresolved issue of Indian land claims. In this connection two things are worthy of note. First, apart from the effect that the allocation of lands to the Indians would have of denying the lands to development by the white population, it may be presumed that, as in the case of Indian reserves, any development by the Indians themselves would be beyond the regulatory control of the Government of the Yukon. Second, if when the land claims are settled, significant blocks of land are transferred to Indian jurisdiction, white development pressures on Federal and YTG lands will become so much greater and the need to plan so much more urgent.

## 4. THE PLANNING TASK

Planning for land development is now going on at all levels of government in the Yukon. This is necessary since all three levels have development responsibilities within their respective jurisdictions. I wish to discuss only three aspects of this planning responsibility: 1) its nature, 2) staffing, 3) means of coordination, and implementation.

### 4.1 Its nature:

As I have already said the prime planning task facing all three levels, especially in the Whitehorse area, is that of policy planning, that is, deciding in broad terms what kind of development should be undertaken in what places and under what conditions. Only after this is determined should the more obvious work of site planning proceed. It is not an easy task, for it presupposes specific knowledge of both the accommodating landscape on one hand and the people and activities to be accommodated on the other, as well as awareness of the interests of the taxpayers and the governments who provide physical and social services to them. This means that this level of land planning is inextricably bound up with a variety of government policies addressing such questions as: what should land be sold or leased for? under what sale/lease/occupancy conditions? in what lot sizes? with what services? at what price?

Clearly this is not a narrow technical or engineering task but one involving policy decisions which are important not only for settlers and settlements in the Yukon and for its landscape, but for the image of the governments concerned. Thus the process must be undertaken in such a way as to allow those manifold policy questions to be addressed, and ultimately to



involve senior officials responsible for recommending appropriate policies to their political superiors.

#### 4.2 Staffing:

It follows from the above that this is not a routine task to be assigned to technicians - of any kind - but one that must have at the working centre of the process people who have respect for landscape, concern for people and their needs, and sensitivity to the processes of government. Above all they must be, or become, thoroughly attuned to the very distinctive characteristics of the Yukon in all these respects.

#### 4.3 Means of coordination and implementation:

The broader Whitehorse area falls within three jurisdictions, each with its own development responsibilities, and it is clear that for the purpose of land policy planning they must plan together. This means 1) that there is a central technical task to be done - that of studying the Whitehorse area without regard for jurisdictional boundaries, 2) that there is also a policy resolution task to be done (which is not wholly separable from the first) at the policy adoption level of each of the jurisdictions concerned, which should result in a set of coordinated development policies for the Whitehorse region. I stress these essentials because they lead us towards the kind of organization necessary to give effect to them.

What seems necessary is a Land Policy Committee for the Whitehorse area consisting of the chief executive officers of the three governmental jurisdictions - the Regional Director of the Northern Affairs Program, the Commissioner of the Yukon Territory and the Mayor of the City of Whitehorse. The policy questions at issue are sufficiently important for all three to be involved; all three are in a position to seek guidance or approval directly from their political masters; and all three operate on Yukon soil and are in a position to work together closely.

As its working staff the Policy Committee should direct an expanded version of the Federal/Territorial Land Advisory Committee (FTLAC). This administrative committee, which meets monthly to consider applications for Federal land, consists of three representatives from DIAND, two from YTG and a representative of Indian and Inuit Affairs. For its role in the Whitehorse area it should be expanded to include administrative representation from the City, preferably the City Manager and the City Engineer.

The goal of the Policy Committee would be to prepare, with the help of its joint staff, an Outline Development Plan and concomitant land administration policies for the Whitehorse area. Its first task would be to have its staff prepare a Work Program and Budget for approval by the Committee. It should be understood that the Committee will consult the public in the preparation of its Plan or direct its staff to do so.

The above addresses the special circumstances of the Whitehorse area, and it would be understood that for the rest of the Yukon the Federal/Territorial Land Advisory Committee would continue to function as now. I would point out however that this committee constitutes a very valuable nucleus for any similar expansion which might be necessary to deal with other possible development problems in the Yukon - pipeline-related concerns at Watson Lake, upgrading of the Stewart-Cassiar Road, designation of Stewart as a major port, increased mining development in several areas - and probably with issues which are not even foreseen at this point.

#### 4.4 Specific comments:

I offer the following tentative comments on the three existing planning programs mentioned. The important thing is that each of these programs should be able to cope with the kind of policy planning described earlier.

It could be argued that the City of Whitehorse, which already contains 13,000 population and faces the probability of continued growth, could well support an in-house planner. However, the danger would be that such a small community, being understandably unwilling to expand its senior bureaucracy, would appoint a minor functionary to the task - a boy, as it were, to a man's job. Rather than this it would be better to continue to use competent consultants, as now, and depend on the proposed Policy Committee (in whose staff work the consultants might well be involved) to provide the broader policy background which is now lacking.

I understand that the YTG Department of Local Government will be hiring a planner and two draftsmen early in 1979. Again it is imperative that the planner should not simply be a technician but someone capable of seeing and tackling his problems, no matter how small-scale and modest they may be, in a broad policy perspective. I might add that the YTG planning staff must



obviously be interested, by virtue of their financial involvement, in what happens in the City area. If the City does not see fit to strengthen its policy planning capacity then it would be incumbent on the YTG planner to assume that responsibility.

The policy-oriented and public-sensitive approach taken by the Northern Affairs planning program seems eminently sensible to me. My only concern is that it seems understaffed for the job it faces. Its task involves technical studies of both land and people and their activities; it also involves contact with the public externally, and internally a considerable amount of communication and cooperation with the two other levels of government - all this in relation to a huge territory. I find it hard to believe that all of these facets of the task can be satisfactorily dealt with by one man, no matter how dedicated, competent and efficient.

My last concern is with urgency. On the scale of the operations we are dealing with, it takes time to plan, contract for and obtain basic data; to process, analyze and use it along with other relevant kinds of data; to understand the multi-faceted nature of most problems and the implications of possible solutions; to communicate these to others and allow them in turn to understand and discuss them; and to arrange for programs and instruments which will give effect to policy decisions. All these take time, usually more than we realize, and in the meantime the clock ticks on.

Out of this I see two things that need to be done most urgently. First, this Report should be considered and discussed by the interested parties as soon as possible. Second, consideration should be given to mounting, this summer, appropriate data and study programs, especially relating to the Whitehorse area and in line with the needs outlined earlier in section 3.2.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The main conclusions of this Report are as follows:

- 1) It does not appear that the permanent operating and maintenance forces for the pipeline will cause significant settlement problems for the Yukon. Plans have been or are being prepared for the accommodation of the Area Office staff in the four smaller communities.
- 2) The settlement impacts of other aspects of the pipeline project, especially associated in-migration, cannot be predicted with any confidence. It seems

important however that Canada Manpower continue to advise prospective immigrants from across the country as to the true outlook for pipeline-related jobs.

- 3) Since it is not clear precisely what is to be planned for, it is important that there be adequately staffed planning programs at all three governmental levels, equipped with an adequate data base, ready to respond to settlement-related pressures and needs as they arise.
- 4) The following specific land-related issues need to be addressed:
  - (a) the situation in the Whitehorse area, where there is a potentially embarrassing policy vacuum between the three levels of government in relation to suburban and rural settlement, and where the data base for area planning is inadequate.
  - (b) the situation at the Carcross Cutoff junction, where a significant group of rural residents appear likely to be affected by the present pipeline routing plans.
  - (c) the zoning situation in Whitehorse, where very considerable pressures on residential areas can be expected when the pipeline project starts rolling.
- 5) A Land Policy Committee is suggested which would be responsible for the preparation of an Outline Development Plan and coordinated land policies for the Whitehorse area.
- 6) Technical studies, for the Whitehorse area especially, should be arranged for this summer.
- 7) This report should be used as the basis for discussion between the parties affected by it.

Whether connected with the impact of the pipeline or not, land planning in the Yukon is a matter of no little importance. The land itself is fragile - open, easily hurt and slow to recover. Yet men who settle in it need all the help they can get as they grapple in their different ways with life in a very cold climate. Convenience, money costs, safety, healthfulness, privacy and beauty are all at stake in the accommodation to be made between man and the land. And to some extent so also are the visual image and the enjoyability of the Yukon itself. In short it is a task to ponder with care. At the present juncture it is also a task of considerable urgency.



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